

# Daimyo Processions and Satsuma ' s Korean Village: A Note on the Reliability of Local History Materials

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**Research Note**

## **Daimyo Processions and Satsuma's Korean Village: A Note on the Reliability of Local History Materials**

**Rebekah CLEMENTS**

This research note examines materials testifying to the postwar relationship between the Satsuma domain and the community of potters from Chosŏn Korea who were taken to Japan by the armies of Satsuma during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea (1592–1598). The village of Naeshirogawa, where most of these potters eventually settled, became an important center of ceramic production for Satsuma, and retained elements of Korean language and culture until the modern era. Although documents associated with the Korean potter community in Naeshirogawa have gradually begun to attract the attention of scholars, those which take the form of *nenpu* (annual records) are understood to have been compiled no earlier than the nineteenth century from unknown sources, and thus their reliability as sources of information on the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries has been questioned. In this note, I adopt a new approach to ascertaining the accuracy of the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* by cross-referencing them with the official records of the Satsuma domain, comparing in particular records of the visits made to Naeshirogawa by the daimyo on their way to and from Edo as part of the *sankin kōtai* system of alternate attendance. This analysis reveals that the *nenpu* are highly accurate. They are an important source of information on the practice of *sankin kōtai* at a local level, as well as on topics as diverse as ceramics, domain-village relations, and the symbolic use of Satsuma's foreign connections.

**Keywords:** *sankin kōtai*, Chosŏn captives, pottery, ceramics, Shimazu family, Naeshirogawa

### **Introduction**

This research note examines annual records (*nenpu* 年譜) associated with the history of the village of Naeshirogawa 苗代川 in Satsuma domain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These *nenpu* are a fascinating source, compiled by descendants of potters who were captured and brought to Japan by the army of the Satsuma daimyo in the latter

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stages of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) second invasion of Chosŏn Korea (1597–1598).<sup>1</sup> They describe the origins of the village community, the pottery industry that developed there, and the patronage the village enjoyed under successive daimyo. As Phillip Brown has noted, historiography rooted in local sources—of which the Naeshirogawa documents are a prime example—can provide an important counterpoint to centralized narratives of Tokugawa Japan and to narratives that draw upon selective printed sources.<sup>2</sup> In order to make use of such local documents, however, certain hurdles pertaining to their authority and reliability must first be overcome. Materials associated with the Korean community in Naeshirogawa have begun to attract the attention of scholars thanks to the work of Ōtake Susumu 大武進 and Fukaminato Kyōko 深港恭子.<sup>3</sup> However, the manuscripts which take the form of annual records were compiled by villagers in the nineteenth century from as yet unidentified documents, and this modern provenance means their accuracy about events two centuries earlier has been questioned.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the Naeshirogawa records have never been reprinted in either of Kagoshima Prefecture's two historical documents series, suggesting that they are not regarded as authoritative.<sup>5</sup>

Here, I adopt a new approach to assessing the reliability of the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* in order to facilitate their use in research. These records are devoted in large part to detailed accounts of regular visits to the village made by daimyo on their journeys between Satsuma and Edo as part of the *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 system of alternate attendance.<sup>6</sup> Each time he visited Naeshirogawa, the daimyo usually stayed in the village for one or two nights, and the *nenpu* record elaborate ceremonies of gift-giving, banqueting, dance, and displays of local wares that took place during these sojourns. Records of daimyo visits to Naeshirogawa provide a means of testing the accuracy of the village documents, and offer a window on their significance as historical sources. I ascertain the precision of the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* by cross-referencing them with the details about *sankin kōtai* contained in official documents of Satsuma domain, which may themselves be matched against official documents of the Tokugawa house.

The Naeshirogawa annual records have the potential to provide historians with information on topics as diverse as ceramics, domain-village relations, and the symbolic use of Satsuma's foreign connections. On the question of alternate attendance, which concerns us here, the *nenpu* offer a rare insight into how this practice operated within the borders of a domain, and they help illuminate the meaning of daimyo visits for a local community. This bottom-up perspective stands in sharp contrast with conventional approaches to the study of *sankin kōtai*. The majority of written sources pertaining to alternate attendance consist of official documents and the diaries of domain retainers, supplemented by the financial records of innkeepers who housed daimyo retinues along official highways.<sup>7</sup> Most visual materials depicting the processions were created and consumed in Edo or other cities and

1 Kurushima, Suda, and Cho 2014.

2 Brown 2000, p. 46.

3 Ōtake 1996, Fukaminato 2000.

4 Fukaminato 2000, p. 102.

5 Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 1970–2019, Kagoshima-ken Shiryō Kankō Iinkai 1959–2019.

6 Maruyama 2007, Yamamoto 1998, Vaporis 2008.

7 For example, Chūda 1993. In the case of Satsuma, see Hatano's seminal articles (1976, 1977).

hence represent *sankin kōtai* under the urban gaze.<sup>8</sup> *Sankin kōtai* is thus understood largely through the eyes of officialdom and in terms of the bakufu-domain relationship, with the focus, as Constantine Vaporis has noted, on time spent in Edo.<sup>9</sup>

The first section of this research note introduces Naeshirogawa Village and the *nenpu*. In the second section, I deal with the official Satsuma records and provide a brief history of *sankin kōtai* in Satsuma. The third section is a comparison of the parts of the Naeshirogawa and Satsuma records that report the dates of daimyo travel for the purpose of attendance in Edo. I conclude with a discussion of the potential of the Naeshirogawa records for future research.

### The Naeshirogawa Records

The village of Naeshirogawa, now known as Miyama 美山, is located approximately twenty-four kilometers northwest of Kagoshima 鹿児島, the domain capital of Satsuma during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868).<sup>10</sup> When the Satsuma armies returned from Chosŏn Korea following the failed second invasion of 1597–1598, they, like armies from across southern Japan, brought back with them potters they had captured on the peninsula. The purpose was to use the potters' skills to strengthen the domain's economic base.<sup>11</sup> Most of the seventy potters forcibly brought to Satsuma eventually moved to Naeshirogawa in the early years of the Tokugawa period, or were relocated there later during the seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> Some kilns active in Miyama today trace their lineage to these original Chosŏn ceramicists, and some of the potter families have preserved records and ceramic items dating back to the early years of their ancestors' relocation to Japan.<sup>13</sup>

Extant manuscripts associated with the Naeshirogawa community are held in university archives as well as in potter family collections. Some relate to village administration; there are also Korean-language learning materials and musical scores, as well as the records in the *nenpu* format which concern us here.<sup>14</sup> The main *nenpu* is *Sennen Chōsen yori meshiwatasare tomechō* 先年朝鮮より被召渡留帳 (A record of how we were brought from Chosŏn in years gone by; hereafter *Tomechō*), which comprises thirty folios covering the years 1598 to 1722.<sup>15</sup> It is contained in volume four of a collection of manuscripts known as the *Tōki shūsetsu* 陶器集説, held by the National Diet Library.<sup>16</sup> As Fukaminato has shown, the *Tōki shūsetsu* was compiled between 1872 and 1883 by Japan's International Exhibitions Office (Hakurankai Jimukyoku 博覧会事務局), which had solicited information on the ceramic traditions of Japan in preparation for the World's Fairs.<sup>17</sup> There are several sections pertaining to Naeshirogawa in the *Tōki shūsetsu*, including *Tomechō*, and they bear the date 1872. The Naeshirogawa sections are therefore likely to have been made in preparation for the Vienna World's Fair which took place in 1873. The copy of *Tomechō* is signed by Naeshirogawa village officials (*yakunin* 役人), Kuruma Kin'en/Ch'a Kūmwŏn 車金圓 and Tei Sen'eki/Chōng

8 For example, Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997.

9 Vaporis 2008, pp. 205–206.

10 Higashi Ichiki-chōshi Hensan Iinkai 2005, p. 36.

11 Naitō 1976, Cort 1986, Maske 2011.

12 Kurushima 2014, Watanabe 2016.

13 Chin and Kaneko 2011.

14 Ōtake 1996, pp. 163–179.

15 Transcribed in modern characters in Fukaminato 2000, pp. 110–121.

16 *Tōki shūsetsu* (not paginated). Reprinted in various editions, including Ono 1932, vol. 17.

17 Fukaminato 2000.

Sōnik 鄭仙益, and group heads (*kumigashira* 組頭) Chin Mōjun/Sin Maengsun 沈孟順, Boku Juetsu/Pak Suyōl 朴寿悦, and Kin Mōkō/Kim Maengkwang 金孟廣.<sup>18</sup>

Three variant manuscripts of *Tomechō* are known, although their exact genealogy remains unclear. All bear the title *Naeshirogawa yuraiki* 苗代川由来記 (Record of the origins of Naeshirogawa; hereafter *Yuraiki*). These variant manuscripts are held by the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo, Kagoshima University Library, and the Reimeikan Museum (Kagoshima). The University of Tokyo copy dates from 1914 and covers the years 1593–1763.<sup>19</sup> The undated Kagoshima University copy, which covers the years 1593–1684, belonged to the family of Boku Juetsu/Pak Suyōl, one of the compilers of *Tomechō*.<sup>20</sup> The Reimeikan Museum copy is undated but is believed to be from the modern period; it covers the years 1593–1684.<sup>21</sup>

For present purposes, I will concentrate on information contained in *Tomechō*, supplementing it where necessary with the editions of *Yuraiki* listed above. *Tomechō* is the oldest and longest of the *nenpu* and, as noted above, is clearly signed and dated by compilers from Naeshirogawa. Despite doubts about its reliability, *Tomechō* has been a significant source of information on the history of Satsuma pottery since the publication in 1941 of the seminal *Satsumayaki no kenkyū* by Tazawa Kingo 田沢金吾 and Koyama Fujio 小山富士夫.<sup>22</sup>

### Official Satsuma Records and *Sankin kōtai*

The Naeshirogawa records will be compared with the main collection of official records of the Satsuma domain, variously known as *Kyūki zatsuroku* 旧記雑録 (Various records of bygone affairs) and as *Sappan kyūki zatsuroku* 薩藩旧記雑録 (Various records of bygone affairs in Satsuma domain). This collection was compiled by the Satsuma retainer Ijichi Sueyasu 伊地知季安 (1782–1867) and his son in the nineteenth century from earlier sources, and covers the period from 1041 until 1895.<sup>23</sup> Despite their official status, it would be naïve to consider the Satsuma domain records infallible. In cases of a discrepancy between the Satsuma domain and Naeshirogawa village records, I have checked the records of the Tokugawa house (*Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記) to confirm the dates of the Shimazu daimyo's audiences with the shogun in Edo that year.<sup>24</sup>

Satsuma's *Kyūki zatsuroku* normally provides an abbreviated itinerary of each 2,800 kilometer round trip made by the daimyo between Kagoshima and Edo during the Tokugawa period, but does not mention smaller stops such as Naeshirogawa. However, a comparison of the dates in this official domain itinerary with those in the Naeshirogawa records shows that the latter are extremely accurate, matching in all but four of nineteen instances for which a daimyo visit to Naeshirogawa is recorded in the village records. As

18 The correct pronunciation of the names of people from Naeshirogawa prior to the twentieth century is uncertain. They were prohibited from using Japanese-sounding names in 1695 (Fukaminato 2000, p. 119), but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many adopted Japanese names to avoid discrimination (Ogawara 2014).

19 Contained in *Naeshirogawa shiryō* 苗代川資料 (not paginated). Reprinted in modern characters in Fukaminato 2000, pp. 110–121.

20 Reprinted in modern characters in Ōtake 1996, pp. 157–161.

21 Reprinted in modern characters in Fukaminato 2000, pp. 110–116.

22 Tazawa and Koyama 1941.

23 KZT and Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 1979–1987.

24 Narushima 1904–1905.

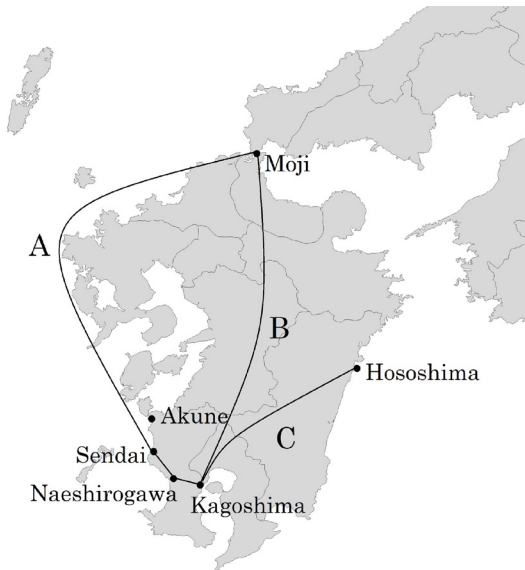


Figure 1. Three routes taken through Kyushu by Satsuma daimyo. (For GIS data on historical *kuni* boundaries, see Berman 2017.)

discussed below, these four anomalies appear to be the result of errors in the copying of the Naeshirogawa manuscripts.

The system of *sankin kōtai* began in the first half of the seventeenth century following the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), when many of the daimyo who had fought against the victor, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616), offered close family members to Ieyasu as hostages. The Shimazu family had been one of the earliest to adopt this practice, having previously operated a similar system within their own territories. Over the course of the seventeenth century such arrangements became regularized. All daimyo were required to leave their families in Edo, and divide their time between domain and capital.<sup>25</sup> The timing and frequency of the daimyo's visits changed over the next two centuries, but for the period 1677–1714 during which the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* records visits, the daimyo and retired daimyo of Satsuma usually went to Edo and back once a year, which meant there were annually at least two occasions for the procession to pass through Naeshirogawa.<sup>26</sup> This, however, depended upon the route that was selected. The Shimazu had several options from their castle town of Kagoshima to Osaka, after which their route was regulated by the shogunate.<sup>27</sup> For the initial stage of their journey through Kyushu, the options were these:

- A. Via the Izumi Highway (Izumi suji 出水筋), which passes by Naeshirogawa, then northwest as far as the port of Sendai 川内 and from there by sea.
- B. Via the Ōkuchi Highway (Ōkuchi suji 大口筋) northeast until Kajiki 加治木 district before heading north through the district of Ōkuchi and overland to the Moji 門司 gate.

<sup>25</sup> Maruyama 2007, Yamamoto 1998, Vaporis 2008.

<sup>26</sup> Hatano 1977, p. 55; Kido 2015, pp. 40–47.

<sup>27</sup> Kido 2015, p. 21; Hatano 1977.



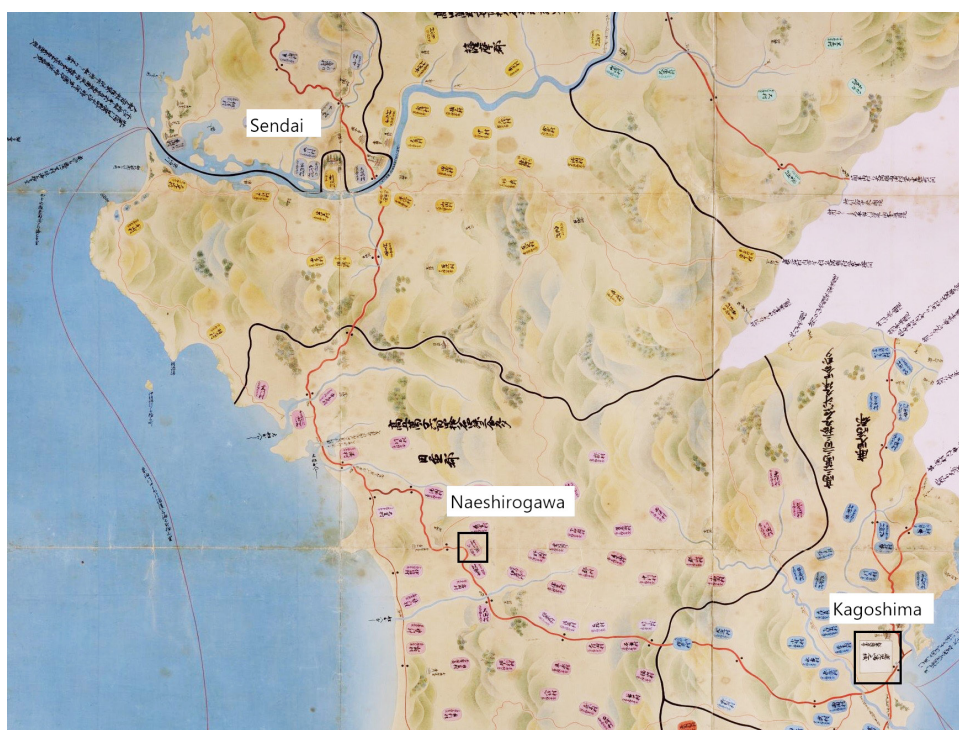


Figure 2. Detail of Satsuma Province from *Genroku kuni ezu* 元禄国絵図 (National Archives of Japan) showing the Izumi Highway from Kagoshima to the port of Sendai in 1702, including Naeshirogawa.

C. Via the Hyūga Highway (Hyūga suji 日向筋; also known as Takaoka suji 高岡筋) northeast through Kajiki district to Hyūga Province, then from Hososhima 細島 by sea.

Until the middle of the Tokugawa period, the Satsuma daimyo usually took either the Izumi Highway (before embarking on ships from Sendai, Akune 阿久根, or Izumi), or the Hyūga Highway embarking from Hososhima in Hyūga Province.<sup>28</sup> The former, running between Kagoshima on the eastern side of the peninsula and the port of Sendai on the western side, passed through Naeshirogawa (Figure 2).

### Comparison of Naeshirogawa and Satsuma Records

Although visits by the daimyo to Naeshirogawa continued well into the nineteenth century, the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* covers only nineteen visits, all of which took place between 1677 and 1714.<sup>29</sup> They report that daimyo usually stayed between one and three days. In contrast, the Satsuma domain records for the Kyushu part of the journey include only the arrival and departure dates for Kagoshima and the ports in Sendai (Hirashima 平島, Kyōdomari 京泊, and Mukōda 向田), and do not mention Naeshirogawa. Since Naeshirogawa lies roughly one

28 Hatano 1977, p. 55.

29 Fukaminato 2004, p. 31.

day's journey from Kagoshima on the Izumi Highway (Route A), it is possible to determine from each Satsuma entry whether the daimyo procession did indeed pass through the village as claimed by the *nenpu* and whether the reported dates are logistically possible.

Table 1 compares the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* with the official Satsuma records and reveals a high degree of correspondence, particularly during the first decade. Take for example the first visit, recorded in 1677. According to the Satsuma records, domain lord Shimazu Mitsuhsa 島津光久 (1616–1694) left Kagoshima on the last day of the sixth month. The Naeshirogawa *nenpu* is consistent with this record: it reports that he arrived at the village rest house on the same day, and that he viewed various entertainments the following day. The subsequent entries for the first decade continue in the same vein, recording the route taken, the name of the daimyo concerned, and the timings of the journey corresponding with the official Satsuma records.

The first problematic entries are for 1688 and 1689. In both, the dates given in the *nenpu* are consistent with those in the Satsuma domain records but the names of the individuals are recorded incorrectly in the Naeshirogawa documents. Domain sources report that Shimazu Tsunataka 島津綱貴 (1650–1704) returned to Satsuma from Edo in 1688 after being invested as head of the Shimazu family, and that Shimazu Mitsuhsa—now the retired daimyo—traveled back from Edo in 1689. The Naeshirogawa *nenpu*, however, reports Tsunataka's visit as taking place in 1689 and Mitsuhsa's visit in 1688. It is likely that this is simply the result of a copyist's error, since the entries for 1688 and 1689 appear side by side in the Naeshirogawa manuscripts. We can verify the accuracy of the domain records by comparing them with the *Tokugawa jikki*. The error is replicated in the University of Tokyo copy of *Yuraiki*, suggesting that *Tomechō* and *Yuraiki* either stem from the same source or sources, or that the latter drew on *Tomechō*.<sup>30</sup>

The third visit for which the Naeshirogawa and Satsuma domain documents do not match involves the following intriguing feature mentioned in *Tomechō* and the University of Tokyo *Yuraiki*. Although these two manuscripts report no stay in the village, they note the daimyo entourage on its way to Edo included three page boys (*koshō* 小性), dressed to “look like people of Chōson” (*Chōsenjin yōbō nite* 朝鮮人容貌にて). *Tomechō* records the pages' trip to Edo in the year 1691 but offers no information as to month or day, while the *Yuraiki* puts it as the thirteenth day of the second month of 1692.<sup>31</sup> It seems that in this instance the *Yuraiki* has the wrong year as the Satsuma domain documents make no mention of a trip to Edo in the second month of 1692; however, they record one in 1691, which left Kagoshima on the tenth day of the second month via Route A. It is conceivable that the Satsuma party left from Naeshirogawa on the thirteenth day of that month. Tantalizingly, no other records concerning this journey to Edo have come to light, and the Naeshirogawa documents report no further details.

The fourth and final mismatch between the Naeshirogawa and Satsuma documents occurs in 1703 when the *nenpu* reports a visit by a certain Shōsaku sama 匠作様 on the fifth day of the third month.<sup>32</sup> The identity of this individual is a mystery, and the date of his

30 The other *Yuraiki* manuscripts end in 1684, and therefore do not cover these visits.

31 Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.

32 Transcribed as 道作様 in the 1932 edition of *Tōkizenshū* (Ono 1932, vol. 17, p. 60), but I concur with Fukaminato 2000, p. 120, that the correct version is 匠作様.



Table 1. Comparison of Naeshirogawa and Satsuma records.

NAESHIROGAWA RECORDS		SATSUMA DOMAIN RECORDS			MATCH
YEAR	MONTH AND DAY	YEAR	POSSIBLE DATES	ROUTE	
1677 <sup>1</sup>	6.30 – 7.1	1677 <sup>2</sup>	6.30-8.2	A	✓
1678 <sup>3</sup>	7.15	1678 <sup>4</sup>	7.10-7.17	A	✓
1679 <sup>5</sup>	4.19 – 4.22	1679 <sup>6</sup>	4.18-5.6	A	✓
1680 <sup>7</sup>	6.25	1680 <sup>8</sup>	6.18-6.27	A	✓
1681 <sup>9</sup>	2.11	1681 <sup>10</sup>	2.11-2.19	A	✓
1682 <sup>11</sup>	7.1-7.2	1682 <sup>12</sup>	6.22-7.2	A	✓
1683 <sup>13</sup>	2.22	1683 <sup>14</sup>	2.22-3.7	A	✓
1684 <sup>15</sup>	6.28	1684 <sup>16</sup>	6.23-6.29	A	✓
1685 <sup>17</sup>	2.13 – 2.16	1685 <sup>18</sup>	2.13-3.17	A	✓
1686 <sup>19</sup>	6.29-7.1	1686 <sup>20</sup>	4.12-7.1	A	✓
1687 <sup>21</sup>	2.10-2.11	1687 <sup>22</sup>	2.10-3.18	A	✓
1688 <sup>23</sup>	6.?-?	1688 <sup>24</sup>	6.6- 8.6	A	?
1689 <sup>25</sup>	8.?	1689 <sup>26</sup>	6.11-8.28	A	?
1692 <sup>27</sup>	2.13	1691 <sup>28</sup>	2.10-2.18	A	?
1695 <sup>29</sup>	3.?	1695 <sup>30</sup>	3.6-4.6	?	✓
1695 <sup>31</sup>	7.?	1695 <sup>32</sup>	7.4-7.25	?	✓
1702 <sup>33</sup>	3.?	1702 <sup>34</sup>	3.10-3.12	A	✓
1703 <sup>35</sup>	3.5	1703 <sup>36</sup>	3.11-3.23	A	?
1714 <sup>37</sup>	?	1714 <sup>38</sup>	9/9-	A	✓

1. Fukaminato 2000, p.114.

2. KZT 1:684.

3. Fukaminato 2000, p.114.

4. KZT 1:686.

5. Fukaminato 2000, pp. 114–115.

6. KZT 1:691.

7. Fukaminato 2000, p. 115.

8. KZT 1:695.

9. Fukaminato 2000, p. 115.

10. KZT 1:703.

11. Fukaminato 2000, pp. 115–116.

12. KZT 1:708.

13. Fukaminato 2000, p. 116.

14. KZT 1:712.

15. Fukaminato 2000, p. 116.

16. KZT 1:719.

17. Fukaminato 2000, p. 117.

18. KZT 1:730.

19. Fukaminato 2000, p. 118.

20. KZT 1:756.

21. Fukaminato 2000, p. 118.

22. KZT 1:788.

23. Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.

24. KZT 1:811.

25. Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.

26. KZT 1:837.

27. *Tomechō* does not record the date of the trip to Edo. Taken from *Yuraiiki* (Tokyo University copy) as transcribed in Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.

28. KZT 1:867.

29. Fukaminato 2000, p. 119

30. KZT 1:926. Note it is not recorded which route was taken through Kyushu.

31. Fukaminato 2000, p.119

32. KZT 1:933–934. Note it is not recorded which route was taken through Kyushu.

33. Taken from *Yuraiiki* (University of Tokyo copy, Fukaminato 2000, p. 119). No matching record is found in *Tomechō*.

34. KZT 2:348.

35. Fukaminato 2000, p. 120.

36. KZT 2:420.

37. Fukaminato 2000, p. 120.

38. KZT 3:155

arrival does not match any official trips in the Satsuma records. He may have been a senior domain official traveling ahead of the daimyo entourage, which departed for Edo on the eleventh day of the third month that same year.<sup>33</sup>

### Conclusions

With only four of the nineteen entries exhibiting any discrepancy when cross-referenced with the official Satsuma domain records, we can conclude that the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* exhibit a high degree of accuracy in their accounts of daimyo passages through Naeshirogawa on their journeys between Kagoshima and Edo. While we cannot claim that every detail in the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* is correct, it is highly likely that they were compiled from older sources and that they were intended to serve as precise historical records for the village.

The Naeshirogawa *nenpu*, whose historical accuracy should now be apparent, are significant for several reasons. First, they represent a rare and detailed source of information on the practice of *sankin kōtai* at the local level, written from the perspective of villagers. If it were not for these documents, we would know nothing of the daimyo's regular visits to Naeshirogawa, merely one stop on a 2,800 kilometer round trip. Official records do not mention Naeshirogawa or what occurred there (nor indeed in any other villages along the route). For the people of Naeshirogawa, however, the visits were clearly an important reminder of their relationship with the Shimazu, as evidenced by the detail with which they were preserved for posterity by the villagers in the *nenpu*. Ceramics were foundational to this relationship. Naeshirogawa pottery was a major export from Satsuma to other parts of Japan, most notably, *dobin* 土瓶 kettles, which have been excavated across the archipelago from modern-day Hokkaido to Okinawa.<sup>34</sup> The village was given special status under Satsuma's administrative regulations in order to protect its ceramic industry, and according to the Naeshirogawa documents, when tensions arose with surrounding villages over resource allocation, the domain issued official notices prohibiting locals from attacking the "people from Chosōn" (*Chōsenjin* 朝鮮人).<sup>35</sup> During daimyo visits, this relationship of mutual benefit and fealty was articulated through elaborate ceremonies of gift-giving, banqueting, dance, and displays of local wares, all of which were assiduously recorded by the villagers.

Such ceremonies also call to mind the symbolic use of embassies from Ryukyu, which had been annexed by Satsuma in 1615.<sup>36</sup> Representatives from Ryukyu traveled to Edo in the company of Satsuma retainers, usually at the same time as a *sankin kōtai* trip. As previous research has shown, the presence of these foreigners in the Satsuma retinue was a reminder of the domain's successful invasion of Ryukyu, and bolstered Satsuma's prestige.<sup>37</sup> The Naeshirogawa documents thus constitute further evidence of the symbolic use of a foreign culture by Satsuma.

Lastly, the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* provide information about the relationship between a Tokugawa village and its domain over a period of roughly one hundred years from the early seventeenth until the early eighteenth century. Although I have concentrated on the dates of the daimyo visits, the *nenpu* also shed light on changes in the administrative status

33 KZT 2:420.

34 Watanabe 2015, p. 19.

35 Haraguchi and Sakai 1975; Fukaminato 2000, p. 113.

36 Yokoyama 1987; Toby 1986.

37 Kido 2015.

of the village and provisions for tax exemptions and allocations of land. These records can contribute to our understanding of Tokugawa villages and local history far from the main urban centers of Edo and the Kinai during the early Edo period when extant materials are scarce. Thus, they offer valuable local historical material for addressing the imbalance between regional history and more centralized narratives of Tokugawa Japan.

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### Abbreviation

KZT Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 鹿児島県維新史料編さん所, ed. *Kyūki zatsuroku tsuironku* 旧記雑録追録. 8 vols. Kagoshima-ken, 1971–1978.

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